

AN  
HISTORICAL  
GEOGRAPHY OF  
IRAN

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W. BARTHOLD

TRANSLATED BY  
SVAT SOUCEK

EDITED WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY  
C. E. BOSWORTH

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

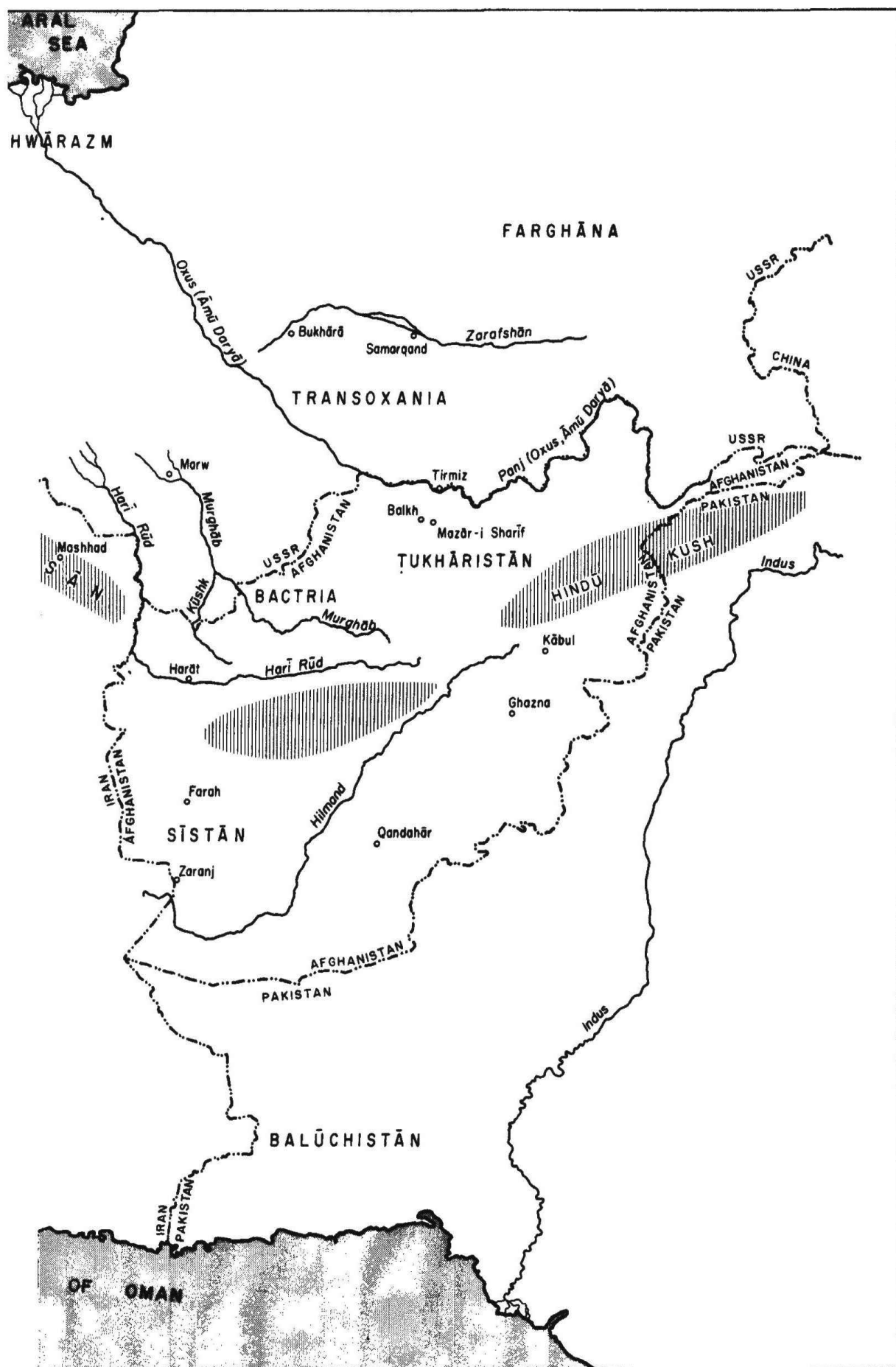
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AA	<i>Archäologischer Anzeiger</i>
AGWG	<i>Abhandlungen der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, phil.-hist. Kl.</i>
AI	<i>Athār-e Irān</i>
AJA	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
AMI	<i>Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran</i>
AN	<i>Akademiia Nauk</i>
ANVA	<i>Avhandlingar utgivet av Det Norske Videnskaps-Akademi, Oslo</i>
AO	<i>Acta Orientalia</i>
AOHung	<i>Acta Orientalia Hungarica</i>
AOr	<i>Archív Orientální</i>
APAW	<i>Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Kl.</i>
BGA	<i>Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum</i>
BSO[A]S	<i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental [and African] Studies</i>
CAJ	<i>Central Asiatic Journal</i>
EI <sup>1</sup>	<i>Encyclopaedia of Islam, 1st edition</i>
EI <sup>2</sup>	<i>Encyclopaedia of Islam, 2nd edition</i>
EW	<i>East and West</i>
Farhang	<i>Farhang-i jughrāfiyā-yi Irān</i>
GAL	<i>C. Brockelmann, Geschichte der arabischen Literatur</i>
GIPh	<i>W. Geiger and E. Kuhn, eds., Grundriss der iranischen Philologie</i>
GJ	<i>Geographical Journal</i>
GMS	<i>Gibb Memorial Series</i>
HJAS	<i>Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies</i>
HOr	<i>Handbuch der Orientalistik</i>
IA	<i>Islām Ansiklopedisi</i>
IJ	<i>Indo-Iranian Journal</i>
IJMES	<i>International Journal of Middle East Studies</i>
IQ	<i>Islamic Quarterly</i>
Iran, JBIPS	<i>Iran, Journal of the British Institute of Persian Studies</i>
Isl.	<i>Der Islam</i>
IUTAKÈ	<i>Trudy Iuzhno-Turkmenistanskoi arkheologicheskoi kompleksnoi èkspeditsii</i>

# LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

JA	<i>Journal Asiatique</i>
JASB	<i>Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal</i>
JAOS	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
JESHO	<i>Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient</i>
JNES	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
JRAS	<i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society</i>
JRCAS	<i>Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society</i>
JSFOu	<i>Journal de la Société Finno-Ougrienne</i>
JSS	<i>Journal of Semitic Studies</i>
MO	<i>Le Monde Oriental</i>
NGWG	<i>Nachrichten von der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen</i>
NTS	<i>Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap</i>
OLZ	<i>Orientalistische Literaturzeitung</i>
OON	<i>Otdelenie obshchestvennykh nauk</i>
PRGS	<i>Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society</i>
PW	<i>Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i>
REI	<i>Revue des Études Islamiques</i>
RMM	<i>Revue du Monde Musulman</i>
SA	<i>Sovetskaia Arkheologiia</i>
SBAW Berlin	<i>Sitzungsberichte der Königlich. Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Berlin, phil.-hist. Kl.</i>
SBWAW	<i>Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Wien, phil.-hist. Kl.</i>
SB Bayr. AW	<i>Sitzungsberichte der Königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu München, phil.-hist. Kl.</i>
Soch.	<i>V. V. Bartol'd, Sochineniia, Moscow, 1963-1977. 9 vols.</i>
SON	<i>Seriia obshchestvennykh nauk</i>
Survey of Persian Art	<i>A. U. Pope and P. A. Ackermann, eds. A Survey of Persian Art from Prehistoric Times to the Present. 6 vols. London and New York, 1938-1939.</i>
TPS	<i>Transactions of the Philological Society</i>
ZA	<i>Zeitschrift für Assyriologie</i>
ZDMG	<i>Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i>
ZII	<i>Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik, Leipzig</i>
ZVORAO	<i>Zapiski Vostochnogo Otdeleniia Russkogo Arkheologicheskogo Obshchestva</i>









## EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

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No historian of the eastern Islamic world is unfamiliar with the works of Vasilii Vladimirovich Bartol'd (1869-1930), or Wilhelm Barthold, as his name was originally rendered in the Germano-Russian milieu into which he was born. His magnum opus, the work based on his St. Petersburg doctoral thesis, *Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion*, appeared in English in the Gibb Memorial Series in 1928, and with an extra, hitherto unpublished chapter, again in 1968. The late Professor V. and Mrs. T. Minorsky performed a valuable service in 1958-1962 by translating as *Four Studies on the History of Central Asia* (in fact, five studies) Barthold's *A Short History of Turkestan*, *History of the Semirech'yé*, *Ulugh-Beg*, *Mir 'Alī Shīr*, and *A History of the Turkman People*. The lectures that Barthold gave in Turkish at Istanbul in 1926 are available in both German and French versions (*Zwölf Vorlesungen über die Geschichte der Türken Mittelasiens*, 1935, and *Histoire des Turcs d'Asie Centrale*, 1945). A general work on Asian exploration and the evolution of oriental studies appeared in French in 1947, *La découverte de l'Asie, histoire de l'orientalisme en Europe et en Russie*. Various other lesser works have been translated into western languages and into Arabic, Persian, and Turkish; Barthold wrote certain of his articles in the language of his family background, German; and the large number of articles that he wrote for the first edition of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (many of them now updated and included in the new edition) are also widely available to the non-Russophone reader. But although the work of translation has gone on steadily in the half-century since Barthold's death, these works still represent only a small part of his total oeuvre, extending over some forty years; the *Collected Works (Sochineniia)* that appeared at Moscow between 1963 and 1977 (comprising ten parts in nine volumes) amount to over 7,000 large pages.

The stature of the man emerges from these bare statistics and the recounting of titles. The lands of eastern Islam, from Iran to Afghanistan and Central Asia, were Barthold's particular sphere of interest, and above all the latter, for the Russian advance into Central Asia during the later nineteenth century opened up for Russian scholars exciting possibilities of historical and archaeolog-

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ical investigation, whereas earlier European travelers to places like Khiva, Bukhara, and Samarqand had had to contend with capricious and barbaric local potentates who hardly observed the international conventions of behavior toward accredited diplomats, let alone toward free-lance travelers and researchers, figures of suspicion at the best of times. Barthold realized early in his scholarly career at the University of St. Petersburg, where he lectured from 1896 onward, that the investigation of the history, topography, and antiquities of Central Asia offered a field similar to that opened up in the Indian subcontinent in the late eighteenth century for British scholars. Barthold made almost annual field trips to Central Asia starting in 1893, undeterred by the fact that in that first year, on a journey to Semirechye, he broke his leg and had to return to Tashkent for medical treatment. In the 1920s, he was much in demand by the various Soviet republics that had by 1924 emerged in Central Asia after the final extinguishing of nationalist and separatist aspirations there, to write local histories and accounts of the different Turkish peoples of the republics. Both in the Tsarist period and after, Barthold was insistent that Russian officials, traders, soldiers, and so on working in Central Asia should busy themselves in their spare time with the study of the region, recognizing how much invaluable work had been done for our knowledge of Indian geography, society, and history by successive generations of devoted British administrators and soldiers.

Central Asia has always been at the receiving end of religious, cultural, and other influences, rather than being a spontaneously creative region, and it is this receptiveness to an assortment of outside civilizations—including those of China, India, the Middle East—that makes the study of Central Asia and the interaction of these strands such a fascinating one. It does, however, make stringent demands on the scholar who would devote himself to Inner Asia, not least in the matter of linguistic equipment; hence the rarity of the multilingual Marquarts and Pelliot. Barthold's concern was more particularly Islamic Central Asia, and his skills lay chiefly in the sphere of the three great Islamic languages, Arabic, Persian, and Turkish. He was an exacting philologist, fully cognizant of the truism not always appreciated today that without philological expertise the would-be specialist in the Middle East, or for that matter, in any part of Asia, is as sounding brass or a tinkling cymbal. Accompanying his *Turkestan* when it appeared in 1898-1900 was a volume of texts, most of them edited for the first time by Barthold from manuscripts bristling with linguistic problems

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and difficulties of interpretation; many of these texts, such as Gardīzī's *Zayn al-akhbār*, 'Awfi's *Jawāmi' al-ḥikāyāt*, and Isfizarī's *Rawḍāt al-jannāt*, have since been published, but here, as in so many spheres, Barthold was the pioneer.

One of those great civilizations that have profoundly affected Central Asia is the Iranian, for out of Iran such faiths as Zoroastrianism, Manicheism, Nestorian Christianity, and most recently Islam have been mediated to the Asian heartland. If only because a knowledge of Iranian civilization was a necessary adjunct to the understanding of Central Asia, Barthold was bound to be attracted to the study of Iran, a land with which Russia had already long been in intimate political, military, and commercial contact. Two of his major works, indeed, deal with it, the one translated here, and *Iran, a Historical Survey*, and both will now be available in English (a translation of the latter appeared at Bombay in about 1939).

Barthold's basic attitude to history was, as Professor Yuri Bregel has pointed out in a perceptive study that should be read in conjunction with this present Introduction,<sup>1</sup> that of nineteenth-century German positivist historiography, with the evolution of mankind viewed as a convergence of originally distinct human societies through the diffusion of culturally more advanced societies to the less advanced. It was in the light of this process that he viewed such diverse phenomena as religion, the growth of world empires, the development of urban life, and the spread of international trade, and that he viewed with favor the *missions civilisatrices* of the imperial powers of his time, whether Britain in India and Africa or Russia in Central Asia, Siberia, and the Caucasus. It was, indeed, Barthold's intellectual support for the Imperial Russian mission in Central Asia (one whose positive achievements were appreciated at the time by outside observers such as Schuyler and Curzon) that eventually contributed to a fuller rehabilitation of his work in post-Stalinist Soviet Russia. For although Barthold, as a Russian patriot, had stayed on in Russia after the Bolshevik Revolution, he gave no assent to Communism and regarded Marx as an unhistorical, unscientific figure whose ideas had no relevance for oriental studies; he had never become a nonperson in Soviet scholarship, but his works had been somewhat neglected or cited only selectively and misleadingly in some quarters, above all in the Central Asian Soviet Republics.

*The Historical Geography of Iran* is essentially an analytical and

<sup>1</sup> "Barthold and Modern Oriental Studies," *IJMES*, XII (1980), 385-403.

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descriptive work rather than an attempt at synthesis. Barthold was conscious of the backwardness of oriental studies in the identification and evaluation of the basic sources, compared with long-established disciplines such as classical studies and European literature and history. He held that the critical study of these basic sources was necessary before any meaningful grand syntheses could be made. Iran, with its successive great empires—those of the Achaemenids, Parthians, Sāsānids, and Muslims—its diverse faiths and its fine literary and artistic achievements, was already much more sharply focussed for the scholar than was Central Asia, but the historical geography of Iran, apart from groundwork done by such scholars as Tomaschek, had been hardly explored. As it happened, while Barthold was working on his book, two German scholars were also putting together outstanding contributions to this very subject, though from very different angles. Josef Marquart (a scholar whom Barthold felt to be to some extent a rival to himself, with their overlapping interests, and one whose wide-ranging speculations, even at times lucubrations, Barthold felt were often not sufficiently firmly grounded in reality) in his *Ērānšahr nach der Geographie des Ps. Moses Xorenac'i* (1901) gave a translation of a brief and jejune Armenian geographical work enriched by a commentary of amazing erudition; and Paul Schwarz was embarking on his *Iran in Mittelalter* (1896-1936), a patient synthesis of all the information available in the medieval Islamic geographers but without any attempt at interpretation. These works Barthold was able to draw upon substantially only for his additional notes, but his own book stands as a parallel, though completely independent achievement, and has the additional advantage of providing a successful blend of classical, medieval Islamic, and modern European information on his subject.

For sources, Barthold accordingly drew upon the results of a patient sifting by earlier Iranists of the classical—above all Greek—sources on Iran; and then, for the earlier Islamic centuries, upon the corpus of ninth- and tenth-century Arabic geographical texts collected by M. J. de Goeje in his *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum* (1870-1894), supplemented by Yāqūt's *Mu'jam al-buldān*. For the period of the Saljuqs, Mongols, Tīmūrids, and so on, he had texts by authors such as Nasawī, Juwaynī, 'Abd al-Razzāq Samarqandī, and Hāfiz-i Abrū, in the exploitation of which Barthold was often a trailblazer. For the period up to the present, for which primary historical sources in Persian or Arabic become sparser, he utilized fully the many European travelers, diplomatic envoys, merchants,

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members of religious orders, and so on who traveled within Iran, being thereby able, through the citation of such recent observers as I. N. Berezin, E. G. Browne, the Hon. G. N. Curzon, and A. V. Williams Jackson, to make his survey entirely up to date. It is not surprising that Barthold is particularly full on Khurāsān and the northeastern fringes of Iran, for Russian travelers and scholars had done much valuable spadework here for him; but the breadth of his treatment of other provinces such as Fārs and Azerbaijan shows that his mastery of the source material extended to the whole of historic Iran, including Mesopotamia, that at various epochs has formed part of the empires of Iran.

The basic sources for the medieval Islamic period have not been greatly enlarged since Barthold's time. Since it was only in 1922 that A.Z.V. Togan discovered at Mashhad a manuscript of the Arab traveler Abū Dulaf al-Khazraji's second *risāla* on his travels in northern and western Iran, Barthold was not able to draw upon this, although he was of course aware of the numerous citations from this work in Yāqūt; I have therefore added the relevant references to Minorsky's 1955 edition and translation of the *risāla*. Also, Barthold naturally knew of the anonymous Persian geographical work from the late tenth century, the *Hudūd al-'ālam*, acquired by Captain A. G. Tumanskii at Bukhara in 1893, and whose text he was later to edit and to have published posthumously (1930). But in the earlier period, he was only able to quote to a limited extent from a photographic copy, so that ampler references to the English translation and monumental commentary of Minorsky (1937) have been added by Livshits.

Finally, one should mention that a Persian translation of the *Historical Geography of Iran* was published at Tehran in 1930 by Sardādwar; it is now very hard to find,<sup>2</sup> and it may be fairly claimed that the present translation will for the first time make available to western readers one of the masterworks of a giant of oriental studies.

THE translation has been made by Dr. Svat Soucek from the text of the *Istoriko-geograficheskii obzor Irana* given in Vol. VII of Barthold's *Sochineniia* (Moscow, 1971), pp. 31-225, a volume provided with a lengthy Introduction (pp. 5-28) by Dr. V. A. Livshits. Barthold's original text is liberally sprinkled with quotations from Ar-

<sup>2</sup> My colleague, Mr. Mohsen Ashtiany, tells me that it has, however, recently been reprinted in Iran.

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abic, Persian, and Turkish sources given in the original Arabic script. These also have been translated; citations from classical Greek authors have been left in the original script.

The notes are an exceedingly valuable feature of this 1971 edition, but as translated in this present work they represent a palimpsest, as it were, of different layers by different hands. Barthold's original notes, given with the 1903 original text, were brief and largely confined to the citation of oriental texts used for the work. But as was his custom with other major works, over the years Barthold accumulated, out of his own reading and in some instances his closer personal acquaintance with the actual terrain, a rich collection of further references. Facsimile examples of Barthold's notes are given by Livshits at pp. 22-26 of his Introduction. Livshits has integrated these with the notes of the original edition (leaving them, in many cases, in their terse, elliptical, notelike form), and in the present translation, these are not otherwise distinguished; anyone who wishes to disentangle the 1903 notes from the subsequent ones can easily do so from the *Sochineniia* text. Livshits has, however, vastly increased the value of the latter text by adding his own extensive annotation, comprising in the main relevant works that appeared during the years 1930-1967. In the present translation, these are marked off by angle brackets, thus: «. . .»). The final layer is that of my own notes, references to works that have either appeared since 1967 or that were published earlier but were apparently not available to Livshits in the Soviet Union. Furthermore, references to translations of texts into western European languages, for example to Yule's translation of Marco Polo and to Le Strange's one of Clavijo's *Embassy to Tamerlane*, have been given where Barthold cited only Russian translations. These additions of my own have been placed within square brackets, thus: [. . .] when they represent insertions within or additions to existing notes. Where a few notes have been inserted at fresh points in Barthold's text, these are indicated by letters, thus: a, b, c, etc. In general, however, I have sought not to overload still further an already substantial weight of annotation.

The bibliography given at the end of this book is a select one. Volume VII of the *Sochineniia* contains a bibliography of truly gargantuan dimensions (87 pages), although this also refers, it is true, to the other contents of the volume (*Iran, a Historical Survey*, some review articles and shorter articles, and some *Encyclopaedia of Islam* articles). The system that I have adopted within the body of the translation is to give the full title and bibliographical details when

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the work in question does not appear in the bibliography. The naturally very numerous Russian works cited by Barthold are usually given by short title only and without full bibliographical details. Sergei Shuiskii has assembled a bibliography of Russian works that gives the full references; this follows the main bibliography.

For measurements and distances, Barthold wisely did not attempt to reduce the figures given in his sources to a common denominator; hence one finds metric measurements side-by-side with, for example, English miles and the traditional Russian units. The reader may therefore find it useful to note that a verst is approximately a kilometer or 3,500 English feet in length, an arshin 28 inches in length, and a desiatina 2.7 acres in area.

C. E. BOSWORTH  
December 1981

AN  
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IRAN



## INTRODUCTION

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THE purpose of this work is to present a brief survey of the geography of Iran, to dwell in greater detail on the sites that were at various historical periods the centers of life, and to determine, as far as possible, the degree of dependence of this life on geographical circumstances.

"Iran" as a geographical term denotes an elevated plateau, bordering on the north and northeast the basins of the Caspian and Aral seas, and on the west, south, and southeast, the basin of the Indian ocean. The country is one of the so-called interior, landlocked basins, whose characteristic peculiarities have been best described by F. Richthofen in his book on China.<sup>1</sup> The main difference between these basins and the ocean-drained or peripheral ones is that in the former, all the products of mechanical or chemical decomposition (through the action of water, wind, and so on) remain within the region, whereas in the latter they are carried away into the sea; in the former the accumulation of such deposits gradually effaces the unevenness of the soil and is instrumental in its leveling, whereas in the latter the deposits pile up along the coasts and further the formation of deltas and the raising of sea bottoms; the waters that pass through a country on the way to the sea erode the soil more and more, and the unevenness of the latter becomes ever more sharply pronounced. This is, then, how in closed basins the compartmentalization of the surface gradually diminishes, whereas in the peripheral ones it increases. Lack of moisture in landlocked basins, however, allows only a minor part of the country's surface to be cultivated, and this hinders a solid and lasting development of culture and civilization; for these reasons landlocked basins sharply differ from the peripheral ones not only in geography but also in history.

The Iranian plateau is one of such interior basins with an extremely dry climate.<sup>2</sup> Except in a few mountain areas, agriculture

<sup>1</sup> «F. Fr. von Richthofen, *China. Ergebnisse eigener Reisen und darauf gegründeter Studien* (Berlin, 1877), 1. Theil, 6-21.)»

<sup>2</sup> For the absence of change in the climate during the last millennium, cf. W. Tomaschek, "Zur historischen Topographie, II," pp. 561-62; Polybius, X, 28, 3 cited by L. S. Berg, "Ob izmeneniakh klimata v istoricheskuiu epokhu," *Zemlevedenie* (1911), book III, p. 80.

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is possible here only through irrigation; for this reason all the rivers, except for the most important ones, are divided up into irrigation canals as soon as they leave the mountains. Their remaining waters disappear in the sands. Civilization is of necessity concentrated along the fringes of the mountains that cut through the plateau. For these same reasons, the geographical borders of Iran could not coincide with the political and ethnic ones. The fact that almost the entire interior of the country is unsuitable for sedentary civilization could not but force the Iranians to settle areas neighboring the oceanic and Aralo-Caspian basins. The easternmost branch of the Iranians, the Afghans, now live chiefly in the basin of the Indus, whereas the westernmost one, the Kurds, live in that of the Tigris.<sup>3</sup> These were the approximate limits within which lived the historical Iranians,<sup>4</sup> as a result of which F. Spiegel, the author of a voluminous (now already somewhat dated) work on Iran, considered it possible to give his book the following title: *Érân, das Land zwischen dem Indus und Tigris*.

In the ethnic sense, the term "Iranians," as is well known, denotes that branch of the Aryans who are closely related to those of India. The oldest monuments of Indian and Iranian literatures are linguistically so similar that an attempt has even been made to reconstruct, in general terms, the language spoken by the proto-historical common ancestors of the Iranians and Indians. H. Oldenberg in his book *Aus Indien und Iran* remarks that "we can trace down to individual details the processes through which that language, not a single word of which has been preserved by history, developed to the southeast of the Hindu Kush into the dialect of the Vedas, and to the southwest of these same mountains into that of the Avesta."<sup>5</sup> Of the two branches of the Asian Aryans—the Indians and Iranians—the Indians received their ethnic characteristics, it would seem, only in the country on that side of the Hindu Kush: there are no traces of Indians inhabiting the area to the north of these mountains. On the other hand, the Iranians, in the opinion of today's scholars, had at one time occupied a considerable portion of southern Russia and all of Turkestan, both western, present-day Russian, Turkestan and eastern Turkestan, that is, the Tarim

<sup>3</sup> «For the present-day limits of the spread of the Iranian languages, see Oranskii, *Vvedenie*, p. 288.»

<sup>4</sup> In the *Kutāb al-Fihrist*, ed. G. Flügel, I, 18<sup>2</sup>, Sughd was called *Īrān al-A'lā*, "Upper Iran"; see Ross-Gauthiot, "De l'alphabet soghdien," *JA*, ser. 10, vol. XVII (1911), 532.

<sup>5</sup> «H. Oldenberg, *Aus Indien und Iran* (Berlin, 1899), pp. 137-38.»

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basin. The languages spoken in this entire area already had the characteristic features of the Iranian idiom, not those of the proto-historical Indo-Iranian tongue. Both this fact and the few historical data available to us—the latter partly set out in F. A. Braun's magisterial dissertation *Razyskaniia v oblasti goto-slavianskikh otnoshenii* ["Researches in the Field of Gotho-Slavic Relations"]<sup>6</sup>—make us suppose that the movement of the Iranians, after their separation from the Indians, proceeded from east to west rather than vice versa; the Iranians migrated into present-day Persia, most probably, also from the east,<sup>7</sup> and prior to their irruption there they reached a certain degree of cultural development in regions included today within the borders of Afghanistan. Here, in the basin of the Āmū Daryā and of other rivers that flow from the high mountain ranges that constitute that eastern limit of the Iranian plateau, the conditions of irrigation are somewhat more propitious than in the western part of Iran, for the high snow-clad mountain crests give rise to vigorous rivers. The traveler Ferrier, who in the years 1845-1846 crossed Persia and Afghanistan, states that through the area from Kermanshah, the principal town of Persian Kurdistan, to the Harī Rūd river, which represents the border of Persia and Afghanistan, he had to cross only brooks (*ruisseaux*); the Harī Rūd was the first river "à laquelle on puisse donner le nom de rivière."<sup>8</sup> According to Ferrier again, the Hilmand is the only water course in the entire area from the Tigris to the Indus that deserves the appellation of a full-fledged river (*fleuve*).<sup>9</sup>

<sup>6</sup> F. A. Braun, *Razyskaniia v oblasti goto-slavianskikh otnoshenii. I. Goty i ikh sosedi do V veka. Pervyi period: Goty na Visle* (Saint Petersburg, 1899), pp. 77, 90, 96 (*Sbornik ORIAS = Otdelenie russkogo iazyka i slovesnosti Imp. Akademii nauk*, vol. XIV, no. 12).

<sup>7</sup> «For the possible routes of the movement of Iranian tribes into the territory of the Iranian plateau, see R. Ghirshman, *L'Iran des origines à l'Islam* (Paris, 1951), pp. 58 ff.; I. D'iakonov, *Istoriia Mīdu*, pp. 124-125, 1249-50; E. A. Grantovskii, "Drevneiranskoe etnicheskoe nazvanie "Parsava-Parsa," in *Kratkie soobshchennia Instituta narodov Azii AN SSSR*, fasc. XXX (1961), pp. 3-19; V. I. Abaev, *Shifo-evropeiskie izoglosy na styke Vostoka i Zapada* (Moscow, 1961), pp. 122-24; M. Mayrhofer, *Die Indo-Arier im alten Vorderasien (mit einer analytischen Bibliographie)* (Wiesbaden, 1966); V. M. Masson, *Srednuaia Azia i Drevnii Vostok* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1964), pp. 395-449.»

<sup>8</sup> *Voyages*, I, 269.

<sup>9</sup> For the link between the lack of water and the absence of snow-clad mountains, see letter from A. D. Kalmykov.



## CHAPTER IV

### Sīstān, the Southern Part of Afghanistan and Balūchistān

WE have seen that Harāt, even at a time when it lay off the northern trade route, was the center of commerce with Sīstān and the southern regions of Persia. A fire worshiper built a bridge across the Harī Rūd which, according to Maqdisī, had no equal in all of Khurāsān.<sup>1</sup> In Tīmūrid times, Isfizārī mentions the bridge by its present name, Pul-i Mālān; in English books, it appears as Pul-i-Malun, whereas Ferrier calls it Peul-Malane.<sup>2</sup> In the nineteenth century, the bridge was restored by Yār Muḥammad. Ferrier states that such a bridge would have been a wholly commonplace phenomenon in Europe, but in Afghanistan it caused universal admiration; it was built from fired bricks and was divided into twenty-six arches;<sup>3</sup> there was also a dike made of sand to protect the bridge from floods.

In the tenth century, orchards extended to the south of Harāt for one farsakh;<sup>4</sup> three days' march from that city was the district of Isfizār, which belonged to the province of Harāt.<sup>5</sup> It was under excellent cultivation, with four minor towns; the name of one of these, Adraskan, has maintained itself to this day in the name of Adraskand, a village two marches from Harāt; the same name is applied to the upper course of the Harūd, a stream that irrigates

<sup>1</sup> Maqdisī, p. 330.

<sup>2</sup> Ferrier, *Voyages*, II, 29. According to Holdich (*The Indian Borderland*, p. 174), the bridge was three English miles from Harāt.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Wāṣifī, fol. 86a: "The bridge of Mālān, which is one farsakh from the city of Harāt: it is that crossing which comprises twenty-eight arches, and for ages the Architect of the Firmament has considered one of its arches as a model for the River of the Milky Way, and He builds one side with the New Moon, but fails to complete the other side. And these arches, time and again, become so flooded that the waters, finding no way to pass, destroy one side of an arch and [then] pass." In Khanikoff, *Mémoire*, p. 126: 23 arches.

<sup>4</sup> According to Iṣṭakhrī, p. 266, there were orchards along the road to Sīstān over a distance of one march.

<sup>5</sup> In Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, I, 248, the vocalization is Asfizār/Asfuzār; the same in Iṣṭakhrī, p. 267.

the district and flows southwestward into Lake Hāmūn. The whole district, which covers an area of three marches, was under cultivation, and there were no barren stretches whatsoever. The town of Isfizār was one march south of Adraskand; its name also appears in the abbreviated variants Sabzawār or Sabzār.<sup>6</sup> In 1383, even more terrible destruction than that suffered by Harāt befell it, because the inhabitants rose against Tīmūr and killed his governor. When the city was taken, Tīmūr ordered a tower of 2,000 living persons to be erected; they were bound, laid one upon another and covered with soil and pieces of bricks.<sup>7</sup> In contrast to Harāt, Isfizār did not recover under Tīmūr's successors because of continuous uprisings and the resulting military repressions. The above-mentioned historian Mu'īn al-Dīn Isfizārī, describing his native region, speaks of nothing but ruins of towns and of large fortresses. In the nineteenth century the region suffered, according to Ferrier, from wars between the rulers of Harāt and Qandahār; only ruins and dried-up canals bore testimony to past prosperity, which may have occurred during the rule of Shāh 'Abbās, that is, the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth century.<sup>8</sup> To Shāh 'Abbās, who took Harāt from the Uzbeks and installed his own rule there, is attributed the construction of a series of caravanserais to the south of the city on the way to Qandahār. Among the ruins described by Ferrier is the large fortress of Saba, built on a mountain at a half hour's distance from Isfizār; local inhabitants attributed its construction to Alexander the Great.<sup>9</sup> The same ruins are described by Isfizārī, who calls this fortress Muẓaffar Kūh.<sup>10</sup> His description, which mentions a Friday mosque, suggests that the fortress was still inhabited in Islamic times. In Isfizārī's time its builder was said to be a certain Alp-Ghāzī.

Along this entire road, one must cross mountain chains that present no obstacles to travel. The road led to the province of Sīstān or Sijistān. In the Middle Ages Sīstān occupied a much larger area than the present province; it was later divided up, according to the

<sup>6</sup> The altitude of Harāt is 2,600 feet, of Sabzawār 3,550, of Farāh 2,500; from Harāt to Qandahār the distance is 360 miles, from Farāh to Girishk 150, from Girishk to Qandahār 70. «For the district of Isfizār (the Sabzawār of Harāt) see also Le Strange, *The Lands*, p. 412; *Hudūd al-'ālam*, tr. Minorsky, pp. 199, 327.» [Sabzawār-i Harāt is the modern Shindand; see Humlum, *La géographie de l'Afghanistan*, p. 145.]

<sup>7</sup> Sharaf al-Dīn Yazdī, I, 360.

<sup>8</sup> *Voyages*, II, 37.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 363.

<sup>10</sup> Isfizārī, *Rawḍāt al-jannāt*, ms., fol. 19b ff.

agreement of 1872, between Persia and Afghanistan. The tenth-century geographers make Sistān border directly on the province of Harāt, but there are some contradictions as to the delimitation of their respective boundaries; Iṣṭakhrī in one place attributes the settlement of Dara (two marches south of Isfīzār) to Harāt province,<sup>11</sup> but in another he attributes to Sistān not only Dara but also Kustān, a village one march to the north.<sup>12</sup> At any rate, the town of Farāh which lay one march south of Dara, and which has conserved its name to this day, was attributed to Sistān; according to Ferrier, the inhabitants of Farāh now refuse to include their town in Sistān. In Tīmūr's time, there was in Farāh a local ruler who voluntarily submitted to the conqueror in 1383. Farāh is situated on the left, southern bank of the Farāh Rūd; in the tenth century it straddled the river. Ferrier considers as most ancient the ruins south of the Farāh Rūd, half an hour from the modern town, in a gorge flanked on three sides by mountains. This town, according to him, had been built long before Alexander the Great's campaign, but he gives no proof to support his opinion.<sup>13</sup> The city of Fra is mentioned by Isidore of Charax (first century B.C.), but without any closer indication of its location. The modern town is constructed after the same pattern as Harāt, but is much smaller; it too is surrounded by a high wall.<sup>14</sup>

Present-day Sistān is divided into three parts that, according to Curzon, alternately turn into a lake, a marsh, or dry, hard land, depending on the time of year and the quantity of water.<sup>15</sup> The rivers Harūd Rūd, Farāh Rūd, Khwash Rūd, and Hilmand form two lakes or marshes: Hāmūn-i Farāh (into which flow the former

<sup>11</sup> Iṣṭakhrī, p. 282.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 249.

<sup>13</sup> *Voyages*, II, 278.

<sup>14</sup> Today the ancient city is completely abandoned, and only military encampments appear there; Yate, *Khurasan and Sistān*, pp. 15-16. The old fortress, Qal'a-yi Dukhtar, is some three miles to the south of the city. On the other bank of the river, opposite the fortress, are the ruins of the old city. For the almost complete desertion of Farāh by its inhabitants, see also *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, V, 75 ("almost deserted, the governor and his escort being the principal inhabitants"), although one of the six provinces of Afghanistan is named after Farāh (*ibid.*, p. 79: Kābul, Qandahār, Harāt, Farāh, Badakhshān, Afghan Turkestan). M. L. Dames's *EI*<sup>1</sup> art. "Farāh": in the *Vendidad*, Fradātha (lit. "progress") corresponds to the Farāh Rūd. (Cf. Chr. Bartholomae, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch* (Strassburg, 1904), p. 982, s. vv. *fradaθa-*, *fradaθā-*); the Greek translation was Προφθασία, in Pliny ὁ Φράδος, in Isidore of Charax Φρά. According to Dames, the city is in decay, but nonetheless it conserves some importance as the chief center of a fertile province and an intersection of caravan routes to Sistān and the Hilmand.

<sup>15</sup> *Persia*, I, 226.

two) and Hāmūn-i Sawarān (into which flow the latter two). The area between these lakes is called Nayzār, and is covered with thick overgrowths of reeds; at the time of high water, the lakes unite and flood Nayzār. In the case of a still higher crest, the whole plain of Hāmūn, which extends further south, is inundated; on rare occasions water covers not only the entire Hāmūn but also a third depression, that of Zarah. This last had not taken place, as the members of the British Boundary Commission heard in 1885, within the memory of the living inhabitants; in fact, one can much more frequently see the beds of all the rivers dry than all the basins flooded. Such a degree of dependence on the fluctuating quantity of rainfall caused frequent changes in the region: the lakes sometimes filled with water, sometimes grew shallower or even disappeared altogether. The rivers changed courses; sometimes, as also happens in other parts of Central Asia, the main course of the river would follow a man-made canal, which would then quickly assume the physiognomy of a natural course. The silt brought by the rivers made the region exceptionally fertile, but frequent floods forced the inhabitants to abandon their towns and villages and build new ones. In Curzon's opinion, nowhere else could one find in so restricted an area so many ruins of towns and villages. The tenth-century geographers spoke only of one lake, Zarah (the *Aria palus* of classical authors), which occupied an area thirty farsakhs long and some four to eight farsakhs (one march) wide.<sup>16</sup> All the four above-mentioned rivers flowed into this lake. The size of the lake was even then subject to periodical fluctuations.

The most fertile part of the province at present appears to lie between Hāmūn and the left bank of the Hilmand, where its principal towns, Sihkūheh<sup>17</sup> and Nuṣratābād (or Nāṣirābād) are located. In the Middle Ages, Zaranj, the chief city of Sīstān, lay on the right side of the Hilmand;<sup>18</sup> the name of Drangiana and of its people,

<sup>16</sup> Iṣṭakhrī, p. 243.

<sup>17</sup> Sihkūheh is the southernmost inhabited point, if one does not count the settlement of Warmal (seven miles further on, see Yate, *Khurasan and Sistan*, p. 91). Cf. also the itinerary in Ibn Khurradādhbih, text, pp. 49-50: from Fahraj through the desert for seventy farsakhs; from Fahraj to Zaranj, seventy-two farsakhs (road from Bam to Narmashīr). Coincidence with the route of Arab conquerors (following Balādhurī, p. 393).

<sup>18</sup> Description of Zaranj in Iṣṭakhrī, pp. 239-40: five gates, two on the western side; the most densely inhabited were the quarters by the southern gate; the citadel was in the northeastern corner; the canals entered the city by the western and southern gates; half a farsakh from the western gate of the *shahristān* to the western gate of the *rabad*. (Cf. Le Strange, *The Lands*, pp. 335-37.)



the Σαράγγαι was preserved in the name of this city.<sup>19</sup> The ruins of Zaranj are situated between the town of Nād 'Alī and the settlement Zāhidān Jahānābād.<sup>20</sup> The name Sīstān, as is known, derives from the work Sakistān, land of the Saka, Isidore of Charax's Σακαστηνή. Isidore identifies Sakastene not with Drangiana but with Paratakene, Παρατακηνή (between Drangiana and Arachosia or White India). This shows that the Saka had earlier occupied the southern part of present Sīstān.<sup>21</sup> In order to distinguish the native population of Sīstān from the Balūchīs and other later elements, the term Sīstānī is used today, whereas in the Middle Ages the term *Sagazī* was also encountered. According to Rawlinson, the Sīstānīs are "Persians of the purest Aryan type," and together with the Jamshīds of Harāt can even be considered to be the only representatives of the early Aryan race in Persia;<sup>22</sup> they have preserved, better than others, the tongue and physical type of the Achaemenid period.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>19</sup> «Greek Σαράγγαι, Zαράγγαι reflects the eastern Iranian name of the region (and people) of Zranka-, attested in Achaemenid inscriptions; Greek Δραγγιακνή, Δραγγήνη goes back to the Old Persian form.»

<sup>20</sup> Tomaschek, *Zur historischen Topographie von Persien*, II, SBWAW, CVIII, no. 2 (1885), 207; Yate, *Khurasan and Sistan*, p. 113. The situation of Zaranj near the contemporary fortress of Nād-'Alī, built by 'Alī Khān Sanjarānī. Description in Tate, *Seistan*, pt. 3, pp. 199 ff. A plan of Binā-yi Kaj is inserted. According to this plan, the outer city measured diagonally three and one-third English miles, the inner city a little over one mile. The distance between the respective western gates was one and a half miles. Image of a "London of the East": 86 miles from Qal'a-yi Fath to Lām-Juwayn), see A.H.S. Landor, *Across Coveted Lands, or a Journey from Flushing (Holland) to Calcutta, Overland* (London, 1902), II, 194. Zāhidān: ruins of the city from Timūr's and the Timūrids' time. «A different location for the ancient capital of Drangiana-Sīstān was recently proposed by Italian archaeologists; see U. Scerrato, "Excavations at Dahan-i Ghulaman (Seistan-Iran). First Preliminary Report," *EW*, n.s. XVI (1966), 9-30.»

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Huart, *La Perse antique*, p. 48, for Cyrus: "Il soumit les Saces, déjà installés dans la Sacastène, le Sistan actuel"; p. 130 for the second century B.C., the Yueh-chih and the fall of the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom: "C'est à la même époque que l'on voit les Saces (Saka) s'installer dans le Nord de la Drangiane et donner au pays le nom de Sakastana (Sistan actuel)." «For the settlement of the Saka on the territory of Drangiana and the neighboring districts, see Herzfeld, "Sakastan, geschichtliche Untersuchungen zu den Ausgrabungen am Kūh i Khwādja," *AMI*, IV (1932), 1-116; Debevoise, *A Political History of Parthia*, pp. 60 ff.; Masson-Romodini, I, 134 ff.; P. Daffinà, *L'immigrazione dei Sakā nella Drangiana* (Rome, 1967). For pre-Islamic monuments in the territory of Sīstān, see Vanden Berghe, *Archéologie de l'Iran ancien*, pp. 15-17, 145; Koshelenko, *Kul'tura Parfi*, pp. 98-106; Šamadī, *Sīstān az nazar-i bāstān-shināsī* (Tehran, 1334/1956); G. Gullini, *Architettura iranica degli Achemenidi ai Sasanidi. Il palazzo di Kuh-i Khagha, Seistan* (Turin, 1964).»

<sup>22</sup> Curzon, *Persia*, I, 232.

<sup>23</sup> «The idioms of Sīstānī or Seistani appear to be dialectical forms of New Persian

The region is distinguished for its fertility and warm climate, despite strong winds that are mentioned as early as Iṣṭakhrī's time and were used in his time to turn windmills.<sup>24</sup> According to Holdich, a member of the British Boundary Commission, the northwest wind blows in Sīstān with such force that, in comparison, the northwest wind in England could be called a light breeze.<sup>25</sup> The wind raises sand, whose proximity caused constant danger to cultivated land; in Iṣṭakhrī's time the inhabitants had recourse to wooden barriers as defense against spreading sand.<sup>26</sup> Also noteworthy was a peculiarity of the houses in Sīstān mentioned by Iṣṭakhrī: in their construction people did not use wooden frames, as in other towns of Central Asia, but built them directly from clay in the form of archlike vaults; wood could not be used because it was gnawed by worms and quickly rotted.<sup>27</sup> According to Ferrier, houses in Sīstān are today built with reed and tamarisk branches covered by a thick layer of clay;<sup>28</sup> in other words, they do not differ from the usual type of construction in Central Asia.<sup>29</sup>

The Hilmand, the principal river of the region, was already at that time not distinguished for the volume of its water, although Ferrier calls it a real river, the only one in the whole stretch between

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(see Griunberg, "Seistanskii dialekt"; J. W. Weryho, "Sistani-Persian Folklore," *IJJ*, VI (1962), 276-307. By the term *Sagzī*, mentioned in medieval sources (especially in Persian-Persian dictionaries) was meant, it would seem, only a Persian dialect (cf. R. Gauthiot, *Essai de grammaire sogdienne. I. Phonétique* (Paris, 1914-1923), pp. VII-VIII.))

<sup>24</sup> Iṣṭakhrī, p. 242.

<sup>25</sup> "Afghan Boundary Commission," p. 162. [These winds include the famous seasonal "wind of 120 days," *bād-i šad u bist rūz*, beginning each July and described with feeling by other travelers in the region such as Yate and Tate.]

<sup>26</sup> Iṣṭakhrī, p. 242.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 241.

<sup>28</sup> *Voyages*, II, 317.

<sup>29</sup> The tamarisk is being gradually exterminated (Yate, *Khurasan and Sistan*, p. 112). The primitive character of the buildings is still true today. For the situation of the population, see *ibid.*, pp. 83-84: "The cultivators and people of Sistan generally were in a wretched state of poverty. . . . There were no landowners in Sistan. All the land and water belonged to the Government, who took a third share of the produce." The peasants have no oxen, but rent them from the nomads of Nayzar. Absence of land ownership; capricious rotation of the tenants by the administrator, also rotation of the *kathhudā*, who previously used to be hereditary. Eye diseases; absence of fever. See the article of Miller, "Proshloe i nastoiashchee Seistana." [See now for an exhaustive archaeological, geographical, and demographic survey of Sīstān, K. Fischer, D. Morgenstern, and V. Thewalt, *Nimruz*; also Humlum, *La géographie de l'Afghanistan*, pp. 251 ff., and Dupree, *Afghanistan*, pp. 26-31, who notes that the tamarisk is in fact abundant in the section of the Hilmand flood plain not used for agriculture.]

the Tigris and Indus; Ferrier is convinced that if the Hilmand belonged to Europeans, steamers would sail on it.<sup>30</sup> In Iṣṭakhrī's time, ships could sail between Bust (present Qal'a-yi Bist) and Zaranj, which was accessible to the Sanarūd canal only at high water.<sup>31</sup> One march above Zaranj there was a dam connected by canals with the Hilmand. This may be the same dam that is mentioned in the Middle Ages under the name of Band-i Rustam and that is attributed to the legendary hero who came, as is well known, from Sīstān; this tradition would point to a pre-Islamic origin of the dam. It was destroyed in 1383 by Tīmūr and once more by Shāhrukh; at present, there is on the site of Kūhak a dam made from tamarisk branches, pales, and clay, built in order to divert water into a canal dug to Sihkūheh.

In the first centuries of Islam, Sīstān was a refuge of the Khārijīs, who launched their uprisings and incursions into the neighboring Khurāsānian towns from there.<sup>32</sup> Besides regular troops, volunteers called *mutawwi'a*, "warriors for the faith," participated in the fight against the Khārijīs; they were a class that in reality consisted of people who could not find a proper occupation or were incapable of earning their living by work. From this class arose the dynasty of the Ṣaffārids; Ya'qūb, the founder of this line, distinguished himself through his abilities in one such detachment, became its leader, and defeated the Khārijīs or drew them to his side. He went on to eliminate the local ruling power and became the sole master of Sīstān. Ya'qūb then gradually conquered the remaining regions of present-day Afghanistan, the southern parts of Persia, and Khurāsān. Between 873 and 900, Ya'qūb and after him his brother 'Amr were the most powerful rulers in the eastern part of the Islamic world, but, as is evident from Iṣṭakhrī's report about the buildings erected in Zaranj by the two of them, they did not neglect their homeland.<sup>33</sup> The Ṣaffārids may also be responsible for those

<sup>30</sup> *Voyages*, II, 339.

<sup>31</sup> Iṣṭakhrī, p. 243.

<sup>32</sup> «For the history of Sīstān from the ninth until the thirteenth century, the fundamental sources are now the *Ta'riḫ-i Sīstān* and the *Ihyā' al-mulūk* (the latter was known to Barthold).» [The *Ta'riḫ-i Sīstān* was edited by Malik al-Shu'arā' Bahār (Tehran, 1314/1935). English tr. Milton Gold (Rome, 1976), and the *Ihyā' al-mulūk* edited by Manūchihr Sūtūda (Tehran, 1344/1966); cf. Storey, I, 364-65; Storey-Bregel', II, 1078-81. The early Islamic history of Sīstān, including the activities of the Khārijīs there, is examined by Bosworth in his *Sīstān under the Arabs, from the Islamic Conquest to the Rise of the Ṣaffārids (30-250/651-864)* (Rome, 1968).]

<sup>33</sup> Iṣṭakhrī, p. 241. «For the Ṣaffārids, see also Barthold, "Zur Geschichte der Ṣaffāriden," *Orientalistische Studien . . . zu Th. Noldeke gewidmet* (Giessen, 1906), I,

bridges and other constructions that are mentioned by the tenth-century geographers. There was a pontoon bridge on the Hilmand not far from Bust, modern Qal'a-yi Bist.<sup>34</sup> A bridge over the Hilmand is also mentioned on the northern road from Zaranj toward the towns of Juwayn (which has retained its name to this day) and Farāh;<sup>35</sup> finally, there was a brick bridge across the Khwash Rūd<sup>36</sup> on the way from Zaranj to Bust.<sup>37</sup> Among the ruins, those of Pish-āwārān immediately north of Nayzār are especially extensive. Noteworthy also is the fortress of Ṭāq, situated one march south of Zaranj and still mentioned by the nineteenth-century traveler Conolly. The tenth-century geographers mention Ṭāq as only a minor town, but by the eleventh century it was a large fortress that Maḥmūd of Ghazna took in 1003 only with great effort. The fortress was surrounded by seven rows of walls and a deep ditch passable only by means of a drawbridge.<sup>38</sup>

The might of the Ṣaffārid dynasty, which had originated in Sīstān, did not last long, but it left a deep impression on the memory of the local inhabitants; all the subsequent rulers up to modern times have claimed descent from Ya'qūb, 'Amr, or their brothers, and have used their names in order to draw the population to their side. The province remained under the rule of such successors throughout the Middle Ages almost to the present, except for brief interruptions; the dynasty of the Ṣaffārids, which survived in the persons of its real or fictitious descendants, thus lasted through both the Mongol conquest and the epoch of Tīmūr. The Mongols devastated Sīstān in 1222 and definitively conquered it in 1229, but they preserved the local dynasty; Tīmūr acted likewise in 1383. Like Isfizār, Sīstān, as a result of frequent rebellions of local rulers relying on the support of a population devoted to them, failed to recover under Tīmūr's successors. From the sixteenth century onward, the local rulers were vassals of the Safawids, then of Nādir

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171-91, and *Soch.* VII 337-53.]] [Bosworth, "The Ṭāhirids and Ṣaffārids," in *Cambridge History of Iran*. IV, 90-135.]

<sup>34</sup> Maqdisī, p. 304.

<sup>35</sup> Iṣṭakhrī, p. 248.

<sup>36</sup> Today, Takht-i Pul, aside from Yate, *Khurasan and Sistan*, pp. 118 ff., Barthold, "Zur Geschichte der Ṣaffāriden," p. 183 n. 4 (*Soch.* VII, 347 n. 68); see Tate, *Sistan*, pp. 205 ff., and illustration there.

<sup>37</sup> Iṣṭakhrī, p. 249. Three farsakhs from Zaranj to Karkūy, four farsakhs from there to Bashtar, a bridge on this road; from Bashtar, one day's march to Juwayn (Iṣṭakhrī, p. 248).

<sup>38</sup> 'Utbī, *al-Ta'rikh al-Yamīnī*, ms. INA C 342 (510), fol. 72. [Nāzim, *Sulṭān Maḥmūd*, pp. 68-69.]

Shāh, and in the second half of the eighteenth century of Afghanistan; in the nineteenth century, Sistān was a bone of contention between the rulers of Harāt and Qandahār.<sup>39</sup> In 1846, when Ferrier visited it, the Khwash Rūd was considered to be the boundary between the two. After the unification of Afghanistan by Dūst Muḥammad, who died in 1863, wars were waged for Sistān between Persia and Afghanistan; the delimitation of boundaries was carried out in 1872 by a British commission presided over by General Goldsmith, with the better area, all the way to the Hilmand, being allotted to the Persians.

The main road from Harāt to India leads from Farāh through the regions of Bakwā and Zamīndāwar; the latter was already important in the tenth century because it bordered on the possessions of the inhabitants of Ghūr and other independent peoples, among whom are mentioned the Khalaj Turks. The reading of this ethnonym is based on etymologies cited by Rashīd al-Dīn and certain Turkish authors;<sup>40</sup> in India, where this people produced one of the dynasties, this ethnonym is pronounced *Khilj*. The Khalaj later adopted the Afghan language and fused with the Afghans, among whom they are today the largest group.<sup>41</sup> In Zamīndāwar, guard posts were maintained against incursions of the inhabitants of Ghūr; it was from here that Maḥmūd of Ghazna undertook his campaigns against Ghūr.<sup>42</sup> The inhabitants of Zamīndāwar are well known to this day for their warlike spirit and fanaticism.

In the tenth century, the main trade route passed further to the south, through Bust, which was one of the depositories for wares

<sup>39</sup> Conquest of Qāyin; Mīr 'Ālam Khān (died in 1891), from the Arab tribe of the Khuzayma (amīrs of Qāyin at the close of the seventeenth century). His elder son in Sistān, the second son in Qāyin (Yate, *Khurasan and Sistan*, p. 66).

<sup>40</sup> V. V. Radlov, *K voprosu ob uigurakh*, pp. 26, 35, 51.

<sup>41</sup> In Marquart's opinion (*Ērānshahr*, pp. 251-53), one should read Khūlaj. Information from Minorsky about Khalajistān, to the west of Tehran and to the north of Sāwa; the majority of the Khalaj speak a Persian dialect, but some speak Turkish (Türkmen). (For the Khalaj, see also Barthold, *EP*, art. "Khaladj" (*Soch.* VII, 511).) [Bosworth, and G. Doerfer, *EP*, art. "Khaladj"; F. Köprülü, *IA*, art. "Halaç"; T. W. Haigh, *EP*, art. "Khaladj"; *Hudūd al-'ālam*, tr. Minorsky, pp. 347-48; Minorsky, "The Language of the Khalaj," *BSOS*, X (1940-1942), 417-37; Z. V. Togan, "Die Bedeutung der türkischen Ortsnamen in Ostiran für die vorislamische Geschichte der Türken," *Proceedings of the Eighth International Congress of Onomastic Studies* (The Hague and Paris, 1966), pp. 542-43; G. Doerfer and S. Tezcan, *Wörterbuch des Chaldasch* (Budapest, 1980), and bibliography on pp. 71-75.]

<sup>42</sup> Bayhaqī, ed. Morley, p. 123. For Zamīndāwar, see J. Marquart and J. J. de Groot, "Das Reich Zābul und der Gott Zūn vom 6.-9. Jahrhundert," *Festschrift E. Sachau* (Berlin, 1915), p. 285; *Hudūd al-'ālam*, tr. Minorsky, p. 345.

on the way to India. We have fewer data about the middle course of the Hilmand between Bust and Zaranj. In 1885, several members of the British Boundary Commission traveled along the river from Khwāja 'Alī to the Hāmūn; according to them, the whole area between Landī and Qal'a-yi Fath is covered with ruins of fortresses, villages, and remnants of ancient irrigation canals.<sup>43</sup> The fortress of Qal'a-yi Fath is considered, according to tradition, to have been the capital of the dynasty of the Kiyānids, celebrated in the *Shāh-nāma*. Only one village, Rūdbār, is mentioned by its present appellation in the accounts of the Arab conquest.<sup>44</sup> The region is known by the name of the Garmsīr ("warm country"). According to Curzon, no other part of Afghanistan suffered so much from human passions as the Garmsīr. Curzon quotes another explorer, Bellew, who enthusiastically describes the fertility of its soil and abundance of its water, and states that if strong and just rule were established in the Garmsīr, the region would recover its former prosperity, and the whole course of the river all the way to Sīstān would be lined with one uninterrupted orchard.<sup>45</sup>

The Arghandāb flows into the Hilmand near Bust. The region along this river and its tributaries, ancient Arachosia, always had considerable commercial and strategic importance; the road from Western Asia to India branches out from there in two directions: the northeastern road to the northern part of the Panjāb, and the southeastern road to Multān and the delta of the Indus. In the tenth century, the region was called al-Rukhkhaj (sometimes al-Rukhkhadh), obviously identical with that ancient name which the Greeks transmitted as Arachosia.<sup>46</sup> The strategic position of the

<sup>43</sup> Holdich, "The Afghan Boundary Commission," p. 161.

<sup>44</sup> Balādhurī, p. 434.

<sup>45</sup> H. W. Bellew, *Record on the March of the Mission to Seistan* (Calcutta, 1873). [For the sandy desert region to the south and east of the Garmsīr region of the middle Hilmand, the Rīgistān, virtually uninhabited except by nomads, see Balsan, *Au Registan inexploré*. This Garmsīr region has been developed agriculturally in recent decades with the help of American aid to the Afghan government, and a Hilmand Valley Authority was formed in 1952; see Humlum, *La géographie de l'Afghanistan*, pp. 236 ff., and Dupree, *Afghanistan*, pp. 482-84, 499-507.]

<sup>46</sup> In Marquart's opinion, *Ērānshahr nach der Geographie des Ps. Moses Xorenac'i*, AGWG, n.s. III/2 (Berlin, 1901). 37, Harachwat. Χοροχάδ of Isidore of Charax. Cf. A. Forbiger, *Handbuch der alten Geographie aus den Quellen bearbeitet* (Hamburg, 1875-1877), II, 537, for the river 'Αραχωτόλ, according to Isidore of Charax. Le Strange, *The Lands*, p. 345, following Maqdisī, p. 304 line 18, the river Kh.r.d.ruy (variant Kh.r.d.w.r.y). «The Old Persian name was Harahuvati-, Avestan Harx'aiti-; for the etymology and relationship with al-Rukhkhaj, see Eilers, "Demawend," pp. 275, 279.»

fortress of Girishk, occupying a passage across the Hilmand on the road from Qandahār to Harāt and that of Qandahār itself, suggest that the towns of the region have existed since time immemorial, although their names appear much later. On the site of Girishk there was in the tenth century the town of Fīrūzqand, the first stage on the way from Bust to Zamīndāwar and Ghazna.<sup>47</sup> In the works of the principal tenth-century geographers, the name Qandahār is not applied to the Afghan city; these authors mean by Qandahār the region Gandhara on the Indus along the lower course of the Kabul river; only a few authors such as Balādhurī, Ya'qūbī, and Mas'ūdī mention the city of Qandahār by its present name.<sup>48</sup> The tenth-century geographers cite Panjwāy and Tiginābād as the principal towns of al-Rukhkhaj. Tiginābād is situated one march from Panjwāy on the road to Ghazna. It had a certain significance in the history of the Ghaznawids as a strong fortress and, in W. Anderson's opinion, it corresponded to the location of Qandahār.<sup>49</sup> Up to the eighteenth century, Qandahār lay halfway between the present city and the banks of the Arghandāb, among high and steep cliffs, on three terraces that rose one above the other. Nādir Shāh attempted to move the city some distance to the west, but Nādirābād, which he thus founded, was soon destroyed as well; the new city was built by the founder of the Afghan state, Aḥmad Shāh, and its plan did not differ from that of Harāt.<sup>50</sup> Situated in the middle of a plain

<sup>47</sup> Iṣṭakhrī, pp. 248, 250; cf. Marquart, *Ērānshahr*, pp. 255, 280. (In the same source it appears also as Fīrūzqand, see Le Strange, *The Lands*, p. 344; *Hudūd al-'ālam*, tr. Minorsky, p. 345.)

<sup>48</sup> Marquart, *Ērānshahr*, pp. 270-72. Qandahār; Alexandropolis; Panjwāy; Tiginābād; foundation of the city in a plain under Nādir Shāh. (For the history of Qandahār and its monuments, see also M. L. Dames, *EP*, art. "Qandahār"; K. Fischer, "Kandahar in Arachosien," *Zeitschrift der Martin-Luther-Universität zu Halle-Wittenberg*, VII (1958), 1151-64; G. Fussman, "Notes sur la topographie de l'ancienne Kandahar," *Arts Asiatiques*, XIII (1966), 33-58, and the bibliography there. For Tiginābād and Panjwāy under the Ghaznawids, see Gardīzī, *Zayn al-akhbār*, ed. Muhammad Nāzīm (Berlin, 1928), p. 14; for the data in Bīrūnī, see *Hudūd al-'ālam*, tr. Minorsky, p. 332. [Fischer, "Zur Lage von Kandahar an Landverbindungen zwischen Iran und Indien," *Bonner Jahrbücher des Rheinischen Landmuseum in Bonn*, CLXVII (1967), 129-232; Bosworth, *EP*, art. "Qandahār."]

<sup>49</sup> "Ibn Houkul's Account of Seestan," *JASB*, XXI (1852), 374. [This identification seems probable; see the works of Fischer and Bosworth cited in the previous note.]

<sup>50</sup> The city was often called Aḥmad-Shāhī by 'Abd al-Karīm Bukhārī also on coins (M. L. Dames, *EP*, art. "Afghānistān"). Aḥmad Shāh's father was Zamān Khān, the place of his burial was Rawḍa-yi Bāgh (to the south of Harāt: 'Abd al-Karīm Bukhārī, *Histoire de l'Asie Centrale (Afghanistan, Boukhara, Khiva, Khoqand): depuis les dernières années du règne de Nadir Chah (1153), jusqu'en 1233 de l'Hégire (1740-1818)*, Persian text (Bulaq, 1290/1873-4), p. 39. (For Aḥmad Shāh and his successors, see Gan'kovskii, "Nezavisimoe Afganskoe gosudarstvo," as well as his *Imperia Durrani*.)

and surrounded by higher places, this city cannot compare with ancient Qandahār in terms of strategic importance.

In the tenth century, a road led from Panjwāy northeastward toward Ghazna, and another southeastward into the northeastern part of present Balūchistān. The direct trade route from Sīstān to Balūchistān passed through the Garmsīr; this road, which, judging by the ruins preserved in the Garmsīr, must have existed for some time, and which the British are now successfully trying to restore, is not mentioned in the tenth-century sources. The geographers of that time know only the road from Bust to Panjwāy and from there to the region of Bālis, with the towns of Isfanjāy and Sīvī, now Sībī.<sup>51</sup> The northeastern part of Balūchistān was at that time called Ṭūrān; its principal city was Quṣḍār, which still exists and has the same name. At present, Quṣḍār is the capital of the minor Balūchī khanate of Jalawān, vassal of the main center of the entire region, Kalāt. In the tenth century, Quṣḍār seems to have had the importance that Kalāt has today. The ruler of Quṣḍār did not recognize any authority except that of the caliph; in the eleventh century, Sulṭān Maḥmūd had to wage war strenuously against Quṣḍār. The importance of Quṣḍār was probably due to the fact that here the road to India was joined by a road from western Persia that passed through the southern part of Kirmān and the town of Jalk; the latter still exists on the border between Persia and Balūchistān. Annual income from commercial taxes raised in Quṣḍār reached one million dirhams.<sup>52</sup> Within the confines of Ṭūrān was also the town of Qandābīl on the road from Bālis to Quṣḍār; today called Gandawa, it is the center of the most fertile region of Balūchistān, a country otherwise notorious for its stony and sandy soil; the khanate of Kūch Gandawa is an exception and, according to British observers, if it were well cultivated, it could feed all of Balūchistān. To Qandābīl used to come for the sake of commerce members of the nomadic pagan people al-Badaha; this appellation is clearly to be understood as that of the Brahui (perhaps it should be read al-Baraha).<sup>53</sup> In the seventeenth century the Brahui took the rule over from the Balūchīs, and are now the dominant group in Balūchistān, although the Balūchīs share with them their exemption from taxes, which are collected only among the sedentary immi-

<sup>51</sup> Iṣṭakhrī, pp. 244, 252. (For Bālis, see also Markwart, *Wehrot und Arang*, p. 124; *Ḥudūd al-'ālam*, tr. Minorsky, p. 346.)

<sup>52</sup> Maqdisī, p. 485. [Minorsky, *ET*<sup>1</sup>, art. "Ṭūrān"; Bosworth, *ET*<sup>2</sup>, arts. "Kilāt," "Quṣḍār"; Nāẓim, *Sulṭān Maḥmūd*, p. 74.]

<sup>53</sup> Iṣṭakhrī, p. 176.



grants from Afghanistan to India.<sup>54</sup> In the tenth century, the Brahuīs' principal occupation was camel breeding; they sent stud camels even to Khurāsān and Fārs.

There are several bays on the coast of Balūchistān, which to a certain extent function as harbors; at the time of the Arab geographers, these bays did not have any commercial importance, however, and all trade was channeled to the port of Daybul located to the west of Indus estuary (today it is called Lar-i Bandar).

The southeastern part of Afghanistan, the nucleus from which the modern Afghan state sprang, had much greater historical importance than Baluchistan.<sup>55</sup> A road led from Panjwāy to Ghazna and Kābul; both were depots for Indian goods. The political situation of the region in pre-Islamic times is not quite clear; the same geographers who in one instance count Ghazna among the regions dependent on Sīstān attribute it in another instance to a region belonging to the ruler of Bāmiyān.<sup>56</sup> At any rate, there were in-

<sup>54</sup> The Brahui belonged to the Dravidian race. Cf. F. Hultzsch, "The Brahui Language. Part I. Introduction and Grammar," *ZDMG*, LXV (1911), 149, for the language of the Brahui, "whose total disappearance is only a matter of time." «For the present-day situation of the Brahuīs, see Gankovskii, *Narody Pakistana*, p. 235; M. G. Pikulin, *Bragui* (Moscow, 1967); for the language of the Brahui, see now M. B. Emeneau, *Brahui and Dravidian Comparative Grammar* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1962).»

<sup>55</sup> Cf. Geiger, "Die Sprache der Balutschen," *GIPh*, I, 232, for the two main dialects of the Balūchīs, the northeastern and southwestern (Makrānī). «For the latest works on the Balūchī language and dialectology, see V. A. Frolova, *Beludzhskii iazyk*; Gankovskii, *Narody Pakistana*.» Abodes of the Balūchīs in the tenth century, according to Iṣṭakhrī, p. 164, in the southwestern part of Kirmān, to the west of Bashākird. In Ibn Khurradādhbih, however, Muqāṭa'at al-Balūṣ on the way from al-Fahraj through Makrān to Fannazbūr. The distances: Muqāṭa'at al-Balūṣ to al-Fahraj, 102 farsakhs; further on to Fannazbūr, 28 farsakhs; further to Quṣḍār, 50 farsakhs. Fahraj is on the edge of the desert, four farsakhs from Narmāshīr. The Balūchīs occupy today the southeastern part of Iran, but occur in the north up to the central part of Khurāsān and in the west to 58° east of Greenwich. «For the contemporary distribution of the Balūchīs, see M. G. Pikulin, *Beludzhī* (Moscow, 1959); Oranskii, *Vvedenie*, pp. 323-26; Gankovskii, *Narody Pakistana*.» From among the populations of Balūchistān, the Afghans were the most devoted to their language, the Brahuīs the least (*Census of India, 1911. IV. Baluchistan*, 128). See *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, V, 30, for the sect of the Zikrīs or Dā'īs in Makrān; they believe in a Mahdī from Jawnpūr, and they have a Ka'ba on the Kūh-i Murād near Turbat, where they carry out the rituals of pilgrimage. [J. H. Elfenbein, *The Baluch Language, a Dialectology with Texts* (London, 1966); B. M. Spooner, "Notes on the Baluchī Spoken in Persian Baluchistan," *Iran, JBIPS*, V (1967), 51-71; Bosworth, *EP<sup>2</sup> Suppl.*, "Dhikrīs".]

<sup>56</sup> Cf. Iṣṭakhrī, pp. 239, 280.

dividual local rulers both in Kābul and Ghazna, and the ruler of Kābul bore the title of Kābul Shāh.

The Arab conquerors never managed to occupy the region beyond the Hindū Kush, and had to content themselves with receiving tribute from the Kābul Shāh and other rulers;<sup>57</sup> the region was firmly incorporated into the Islamic domains only in the ninth century by the founder of the Ṣaffārid dynasty, Ya'qūb; in this connection, mention is made of an individual Muslim ruler in Gardīz,<sup>58</sup> one march from Ghazna on the way to India.<sup>59</sup> After the fall of the Ṣaffārids, there were again local rulers in Ghazna and Kābul.<sup>60</sup> In the tenth century, the Sāmānid general Alptigīn, having quarreled with his sovereign, crossed the Hindū Kush, conquered Ghazna, and prepared the ground for the Ghaznawid dynasty. As is well known, during the rule of Maḥmūd (998-1030), Ghazna was the capital of a large empire and one of the centers of learning and the arts; ruins of this city lie some 25 versts north of modern Ghazna.<sup>61</sup> The city's prosperity was disturbed by a whole series of calamities; the first and hardest blow was struck in 1148 by the Ghūrīds, led by 'Alā' al-Dīn Ḥusayn, who received as a result of his destruction of Ghazna the title Jahān Sūz.<sup>62</sup> In 1221, Chingiz Khan subjected the inhabitants of Ghazna to general slaughter, except for the artisans who were carried off as prisoners.<sup>63</sup> Finally, in 1326 the city was destroyed by the Mongols of Persia, who had routed the army of the Chaghatay khan Tarmashīrīn; at that point the tomb of Maḥmūd was disturbed, those living in its vicinity were carried off as prisoners, and Qur'ān manuscripts and other books

<sup>57</sup> «The data that are in the *Akhbār Makka* "Chronicles of the City of Mecca" by Abu 'l-Walīd Muḥammad al-Azraqī point to an occupation of the regions of Kābul and Qandahār as early as 812-813, see A. I. Mikhaïlova, "Novye epigraficheskie dannye dlia istorii Srednei Azii IX v.," *Epigrafika Vostoka*, V (1951), 10-20. Masson-Romodīn, I, 22.» [Bosworth, *EI*<sup>2</sup>, art. "Kābul."]

<sup>58</sup> Gardīzī, Cambridge ms., fol. 84b [ed. Nāzīm (Berlin, 1928), p. 11; Bosworth, "Notes on the Pre-Ghaznavid History of Eastern Afghanistan," *IQ*, IX (1965), 17 ff.]

<sup>59</sup> Maqdisī, p. 349.

<sup>60</sup> Cf. the situation under Nādir Shāh: Qandahār was Afghan, Ghazna and Kābul Indian; the border was present-day Mukūr, in Muḥammad Mahdī Khān Astarābādī's *Ta'rikh-i Nādirī* (Tabriz, 1265/1849), p. 115, events of 1738: "The spring of Makhūr which is on the border of the kingdoms of Iran and India."

<sup>61</sup> According to M. L. Dames, *EI*<sup>1</sup>, art. "Ghazna," about four kilometers; according to the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, V, 63, it was three miles.

<sup>62</sup> Ghazna was considered as being in the hands of the Ghūrīds from 1161 onward.

<sup>63</sup> Barthold, *Turkestan*, p. 445, *Soch.* I, 512.

were burned or torn apart.<sup>64</sup> Present-day Ghazna, although it counts some 10,000 inhabitants in all, retains a certain commercial importance thanks to its position on the caravan route to India.<sup>65</sup> The streams on which Ghazna and Gardīz used to be situated flow into the lake of the Āb-i Istāda, the last landlocked basin on the way to the Indus system.

The mountainous region between the Indus and the basins of the Hilmand and the Āb-i Istāda is known as the Sulaymān mountains; the chains of this system along the frontier are called by the British the Eastern and Western Sulaymān ranges. These mountains were in prehistoric times already inhabited by Afghans, a people of Iranian stock. The Afghans for their part call themselves Pukhtūn or Pushtūn, pl. Pukhtāna or Pushtāna,<sup>66</sup> the Paktioi of Herodotus.<sup>67</sup> The origin of the name Afghan is unknown; it is first used by the eleventh-century historian 'Utbī, in connection with the campaign of Maḥmūd of Ghazna against the Afghans.<sup>68</sup> In their almost inaccessible mountainous homeland, the Afghans long resisted both the domination of Islamic rulers and the cultural influence of Islam; even at the end of the fourteenth century, during Tīmūr's campaigns, the majority of Afghans were pagans.<sup>69</sup>

<sup>64</sup> *Dhayl-i jāmi' al-tawārikh*, ms. INA D 66, fol. 508.

<sup>65</sup> The article of Dames, *EP*<sup>1</sup>, "Ghazna." Description of the tomb of Maḥmūd in G. T. Vigne, *Ghazni and Afghanistan* (London, 1840) (he was there in 1836); cf. in Khanikoff (K. C. Ritter, *Iran* [St. Petersburg, 1874]), pp. 573 ff. A plan of the surroundings of Ghazna, *ibid.*, p. 579. (For the history and monuments of Ghazna, see also C. E. Bosworth, *EP*<sup>2</sup>, art. "Ghazna," and its bibliography; Wilber, *Annotated Bibliography*, nos. 973, 1,010, 1013, 1,036, 1,048, 1,051, 1,052; Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids*; Masson-Romodina, I; G. A. Pugachenkova, *Iskusstvo Afghanistana* (Moscow, 1963), pp. 163-65.)

<sup>66</sup> The principal dialects: northern (*kh* = Pakhtō—Kābul, Peshawar, Swat) and southern (*sh* = Pashtō). (For the dialects of the Afghan language and the territory of their distribution, see now G. Morgenstierne, *An Etymological Vocabulary of Pashto* (Oslo, 1927); *idem*, "The Wanetsi Dialect of Pashto," *NTS*, IV (1930), 156-75; *idem*, "Archaisms and Innovations in Pashto Morphology," *NTS*, XII (1942), 88-114; Oranskii, *Vvedenie*, pp. 304-306; Dvoriankov, *Iazyk pushtu*.)

<sup>67</sup> According to M. L. Dames (*EP*<sup>1</sup>, art. "Afghanistan"), the forms with *sh* are earlier than those with *kh*, for this reason Dames rejects the theory of identity of the Pashtuns and Paktis. (See now also Morgenstierne, *EP*<sup>2</sup>, art. "Afghān"; Masson-Romodina, I, 67-69.) [Caroe, *The Pathans*.]

<sup>68</sup> For earlier data about the Afghans, see in the Tumanskii ms. of the *Hudūd al-'ālam*, fol. 16a. (See Barthold, *Vvedenie*, p. 21, and *Hudūd al-'ālam*, tr. Minorsky, pp. 252, 349 n. 2. For possible mention of the Afghans in Indian and Chinese sources of the sixth and seventh centuries, see G. Morgenstierne, *EP*<sup>2</sup>, "Afghān"; Masson-Romodina, I, 211-12.)

<sup>69</sup> Cf. Masson-Romodina, I, 305-13.

The conquest of the lower reaches of the Indus, all the way to Multān, was carried out by the Arabs from the south, while the mountainous region between Kābul and Ghazna on one side and the banks of the Indus on the other remained unsubjugated. The extent to which the raids of the Afghans complicated the commercial relations between these regions is indicated by the fact that, according to Maqdisī,<sup>70</sup> the journey from Ghazna to Multān sometimes took three months.<sup>71</sup> Maḥmūd was the first to invade India from the west, and he firmly occupied Panjāb; nonetheless, the Afghans retained their independence under the Ghaznawids and the following dynasty, that of the Ghūrids. After Ghazna's destruction by the Mongols, the Afghans could make incursions into the neighboring civilized areas unhindered. The fourteenth-century traveler Ibn Baṭṭūṭa already mentions the Afghans in Kābul; besides spreading into the basin of the Kābul river, they also gradually started to settle in that of the Hilmand. In the same century the term "Afghanistan" begins to appear as the name of the country of the Afghans. As they settled over the countryside, the Afghans were to fuse with other ethnic groups, the latter then adopting the language of the majority. One such group consisted of the above-mentioned Khalaj Turks.<sup>72</sup> Qandahār, Kābul, and Ghazna came within the framework of the empire of Tīmūr and his successors. Bābur undertook his Indian campaign, which led to the founding of the empire of the Great Mughals, from Kābul. In the sixteenth century, Qandahār came within the framework of the Persian state of the Ṣafawids, but occasionally it was under the rule of the Great Mughals. In the beginning of the eighteenth century, the decline of both states was seized upon by the Afghans, who rose as rapidly as the mountaineers of Ghūr had done in the twelfth century. In 1709, the leader of the Khalaj, Mīr Ways, made himself master of Qandahār; in 1722 his son Maḥmūd even conquered Persia and made himself ruler of Persia. By 1729, however, Maḥmūd's nephew Ashraf was driven out of Persia by Nādir Shāh, whose successes halted for some time the rise of the Afghans. Nādir Shāh again subjugated Afghanistan and devastated India. He appointed as lead-

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.* and Maqdisī, p. 486, for the road from Maṣūra through Quṣḍār to Ghazna.

<sup>71</sup> Description of the road between India and Ghazna in Bīrūnī, *India*, tr. E. C. Sachau (London, 1888), I, 206: Wayhind, capital of Gandhara; Purshawar, 14 farsakhs; Dunpūr, 15 farsakhs; Kābul, 12 farsakhs; Ghazna, 17 farsakhs. The road through Gardīz (in Maqdisī, p. 349; see above, p. 77) also lends to Wayhind. (For this road, see also *Hudūd al-'ālam*, tr. Minorsky, pp. 251-54.)

<sup>72</sup> Aristov, "Anglo-Indiiskii 'Kavkaz,'" p. 25.

ers of his Afghan armies the elders of the other Afghan group, the Abdālīs, in order to undermine the power of the Khalaj.<sup>a</sup> After Nādir Shah's death in 1747, Aḥmad, leader of the Abdālīs, cut his ties with the Persians, seized Qandahār, and laid the foundations of an independent state. Aḥmad Shāh died in Qandahār in 1733;<sup>73</sup> his tomb is the most magnificent construction in that city to this day. Aḥmad's successor Tīmūr Shāh (1773-1793) transferred the government to Kābul, which has since remained the capital city of Afghanistan.<sup>74</sup> The borders of the state were subject to frequent modifications; for some time, they encompassed also Kashmīr, a part of Panjāb, and Sind.<sup>75</sup> The rule of the Afghans in India did not last, however; not even the original homeland of the Afghans comes within borders of modern Afghanistan, although the majority of Afghans live there even today. In the opinion of the Russian scholar N. A. Aristov,<sup>76</sup> the Afghans number some four and a half to five million in all, of whom only some two million live in the territory of the amīr.<sup>77</sup> The inhabitants of the Sulaymān moun-

<sup>a</sup> See L. Lockhart, *Nadir Shah, a Critical Study Based Mainly upon Contemporary Sources* (London, 1938); *idem*, *EI*<sup>2</sup>, art. "Abdālī."

<sup>73</sup> According to the *Mujmil al-ta'rikh-i ba'd-Nādiriyya*, ed. O. Mann (Leiden, 1891-1896), p. 148, the death of Aḥmad Shāh was at the end of Jumādā II, 1185 (beginning of October 1771). In M. L. Dames, "Afghānistān," the year 1773 (1187 A.H.); the same in *idem*, *EI*<sup>1</sup>, art. "Aḥmed Shāh Durrānī," where there is a misprint: 1184. In 'Abd al-Karīm Bukhārī, p. 9, the year is 1185. See Dames, "Afghānistān," for the Durrānī control over the other Afghan tribes to the present day. Mention of the Bārakzay clan in the historical part of Dames's article "Afghānistān," at p. 170, and not in his description of the tribes (*ibid.*, pp. 149 ff.), cf. J. S. Cotton, *EI*<sup>1</sup>, art. "Bārakzai." The appellation Durrānī was adopted by Aḥmad Shāh instead of 'Abdālī. The clan of Sadōzay.

<sup>74</sup> See *Mujmil al-ta'rikh-i ba'd-Nādiriyya*, p. 155: episode from the times of trouble at the beginning of the reign of Tīmūr Shāh.

<sup>75</sup> Cf. Muḥammad Ja'far al-Ḥusaynī Khūrmūjī, the author of the *Ta'rikh-i Shīrāz*, compiled in 1276/1859-60: "Afghanistan, which in reality is an ancient part and dependency of the noble state of Iran. . . . For almost one hundred years each of the regions of this country has been under the sway of the Afghan khans. The government of England, with the preservation of India and her own national interests in mind, is endeavoring to establish this country [that is, Afghanistan] as a separate state, and to achieve the goal of her wishes within the limits of [her] power; [while] the noble state of Iran will of course also, so far as possible, be mindful of realizing its own right[s]. And we will see what the wishes of the Master of the World are in this regard." The author gives information about himself in the description of the village of M.n.q.l. (For Muḥammad Ja'far Khūrmūjī, the author of the works *Ta'rikh-i Shīrāz* (also known as *Āthār-i Ja'fari*) and *Ḥaqā'iq al-akhbār-i Nāsirī*, see Storey, *Persian Literature*, I, 343-44, 352.)

<sup>76</sup> "Anglo-Indiiskii 'Kavkaz'," p. 50.

<sup>77</sup> Different statistics in MacGregor, *Narrative of a Journey*: there are about 3,500,000

tains are subjected to nominal "control" by Britain; in reality, the subjugation of these mountaineers, for which the British aim, will cost the latter, in Aristov's opinion, even more dearly than subjugation of the Caucasus cost the Russians.<sup>b</sup>

The mountainous region that forms the central part of Afghanistan is inhabited primarily by peoples of non-Afghan origin. We have seen how in the Middle Ages the powerful dynasty of the Ghūrīds, which had originated in Ghūr, played an important part in historical events. From among the inhabitants of Ghūr may have originated several nomadic peoples who, despite their Aryan origin and Iranian language, are known by the generic Turkish term *Aymaq* (properly *oymaq*, "clan" or "tribe").<sup>78</sup> These nomads differ sharply in both customs and dialect from the sedentary inhabitants of cultivated areas, the so-called *Pārsiwāns* (properly *pārsī zabān*, "Persian speaking"). The *Aymaqs* are divided into a whole series of separate groups, whose names—*Jamshīdīs*, *Taymanīs*, and so on—are absent in medieval literary sources; so little research has been done on the history of Afghanistan that it is impossible to say when these groups first made their appearance. Along both slopes of the *Tīrband-i Turkistān* range and in the valley of the *Harī Rūd*

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Afghans in all; from among these, 1,080,931 are within the British confines and 2,359,000 in Afghanistan. In Dames's *ET*<sup>1</sup> art. "Afghanistan" there are no figures. (For contemporary data about the distribution and size of the Afghan population in Afghanistan and Pakistan, see *Narody Perednei Azii*, p. 56; *Sovremennyyi Afganistan; Afghānistān* (Kābul, 1334/1955 onward); *Statistical Digest of Pakistan*, 1950; J. W. Spain, *The Pathan Borderland* (The Hague, 1963).) [Dupree, *Afghanistan*, p. 59, estimates (in 1973) the Pushtuns at about 6,500,000 in Afghanistan and roughly the same number across the border in Pakistan.]

<sup>b</sup> There is irony in the fact that it is now, eighty years later, not the British but the Russians who, as an occupying force in Afghanistan, are finding its subjugation a "second Caucasus."

<sup>78</sup> *Chahār-Aymaq*: *Jamshīds*, *Hazāras*, *Firūzkūhīs*, and *Taymanīs*. The *Taymanīs* certainly already in *Tīmūr's* time. For the *Moghols* in Afghanistan, see Ramstedt, "Otchet," (they live between *Qandahār*, *Harāt*, and *Kābul*); also *idem*, "Mogholica, Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Moghol-Sprache in Afghanistan," *JSOu*, XXIII (1905), I-IV, 1-60, and my remark in *Etnograficheskoe obozrenie* (1910), nos. 1-2; (Barthold, "K voprosu o kaitakakh," about the *Moghols* of Afghanistan, p. 44 and nn. 3-4; Barthold, "Popravka"; see now *Narody Perednei Azii*, pp. 107-33, 555; Schurmann, *The Mongols of Afghanistan*; K. Ferdinand, "Ethnographical Notes on *Chahār Aimāq*, *Hazāra* and *Moghōl*," *AO*, XXVIII (1964), 175-203; E. Bacon, "An Inquiry into the History of the Hazara Mongols of Afghanistan," *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, VII (1951), 230-47; G. Jarring, *On the Distribution of Turk Tribes in Afghanistan* (Lund, 1939); for the languages see Efimov, *Iazyk afganskikh khazara*; Ligeti, "Recherches sur les dialectes mongols et turcs de l'Afghanistan," *AOHung.*, IV (1954), 93-117, and the bibliography in these works.)

live the Fīrūzkūhī, a people whose name, they say, stems not from that of the medieval capital of Ghūr but from the name of the stronghold Fīrūzkūh in Persia on the fringes of Māzandarān; the latter was taken by Tīmūr in 1404, and the entire garrison was transferred to Harāt.

Iranian in speech but Mongol by origin seem to be the so-called Hazāras, now the most numerous and powerful ethnic group in this region. They live to the north as well as to the south of the principal ranges. Their name is derived from the Persian word *hazāra* ("thousand"), used in the Arabic plural *hazārajāt*.<sup>c</sup> This term was applied by the Persians to one of the chief divisions of the Mongol army, and it then seems to have been adopted by the Mongols themselves. Subjugation of this mountainous region and conquest of the strong fortresses of Ghūr required great effort on the part of the Mongols. After the completion of the conquest, Mongol detachments were left in the country; these then gradually adopted the language of the vanquished. They were subsequently, it would seem, joined by other Mongol detachments, which also settled here and called themselves by the names of their leaders; outstanding among these were the Nikūderīs, who arrived here in the thirteenth century and at first were a detachment led by the Chaghatay prince Nikūder. Nikūder served Hülegü, the conqueror of Persia, but then betrayed him.<sup>d</sup> In Bābur's time (that is, the sixteenth century), part of the Hazāra and Nikūderīs, who lived in the mountains west of Kābul, spoke Mongolian.<sup>79</sup> In the area between Harāt and Qandahār there seems to be even today a tribe that has retained its Mongolian language. In 1838 Lieutenant R. Leech published in the *Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal* a dictionary of the language of this tribe;<sup>80</sup> H. C. von der Gabelentz then proved that this dialect belongs to the Mongolian languages in both lexical content and grammatical structure.<sup>81</sup> On the upper reaches of the Murghāb lives a tribe whose members call themselves Mongols but speak Persian; its neighbors know the leaders of this tribe, according to Ferrier, as Saharāhīs (from Arabic *ṣaḥārā*, pl. of

<sup>c</sup> See on the region and the people, the references given in Chapter III n. 5 above.

<sup>d</sup> See on these military groups, J. Aubin, "L'ethnogénèse des Qaraunas," *Turcica*, I (1969), 65-94.

<sup>79</sup> *Bābur-nāma*, ed. Il'minskii (Kazan, 1857), p. 161.

<sup>80</sup> «Leech, "A Vocabulary of the Language of the Moghal Aimaks," *JASB*, VII (1838), 785-87.»

<sup>81</sup> «Von der Gabelentz, "Ueber die Sprache der Hazāras und Aimaks," *ZDMG*, XX (1866), 326-35.»

*ṣahrā'*, "steppe," "desert").<sup>82</sup> Tīmūr and his successors had to undertake expeditions against the Hazāras. In the middle of the nineteenth century, when Ferrier traveled in the area, the Hazāras were virtually independent and obeyed only their own leaders or sardārs, although the Afghan rulers, especially Yār Muḥammad of Harāt, did try to subjugate them.

A totally special case is that of the mountain dwellers of the Hindū Kush, who still to this day have not fully submitted to the influence of Islam. We have seen that in the tenth century the main routes through the Hindū Kush led to the valley of the Panjshīr, one of the tributaries of the Kābul river.<sup>83</sup> There is, furthermore, mention of a road from Badakhshān to "Tibet," that is, to the upper reaches of the Indus inhabited by Tibetans; today this includes the regions of Gilgit, Kanjut, and Ladakh, subjugated by the British. Along these routes the influence of Islam gradually spread; the extensive mountain region between the two routes, however, remained outside the sphere of this influence. Even the present Muslim region of Chitrāl (Chitrār), whose rulers bore the Iranian title of Mihtar, and which was in 1895 conquered by the British, became wholly Islamic in relatively recent times. Bābur, who wrote at the beginning of the sixteenth century, still attributes Katūr, that is, Chitrāl, to Kāfiristān. The form Chitrār appears in the work of the seventeenth-century author Maḥmūd b. Walī; the ruler of "Chitrār," Shāh Bābur, declared himself subject of the khan of Bukhārā, Imām Qulī.<sup>84</sup> In Chitrāl, just as in medieval Ghūr, each village represented a minor fortress in its own right; rulers of villages were at the same time military commanders and, as the Mihtar's vassals, they joined his campaigns with a specified number of men. The importance of Chitrāl resided in the fact that here two roads branch out southward from the road that leads from Badakhshān to Gilgit and Kashmīr: one through Dīr and the Malakand pass to Peshāwar, the other through Kunār along the banks of a river of the same name (Chitrāl itself is situated along the banks of this river on its upper reaches, where it is better known as the Chitrāl river), to

<sup>82</sup> *Voyages*, I, 431.

<sup>83</sup> The Hindu Kush is here the limit of the Iranian dialects; one exception is the dialect of Yidga (Geiger, "Kleinere Dialekte und Dialektgruppen," *GIPh*, I, 291); Munjān and the valley in Injigān, to the south of the Dōrāh pass. (For the Munjān language and the Yidga dialect, see now I. I. Zarubin, "K kharakteristike mundzhanskogo iazyka," *Iran*, I (19 Leningrad, 1927), pp. 111-99; G. Morgenstierne, "The Name Munjān and some Other Names of Places and Peoples in the Hindu Kush," *BSOS*, VI (1931), 439-44; *idem*, *Indo-Iranian Frontier Languages*. II. *Iranian Pamir Languages* (Oslo, 1938).)

<sup>84</sup> *Bahr al-asrār*, fol. 276b.



Jalālābād and Kābul. All these roads present enormous difficulties and in winter they are considered impassable. Still more arduous is access to the area between the Panjshīr and the Kunār, Kāfiristān proper, which was conquered only in the most recent years by the amīr ‘Abd al-Rahmān. In addition to the name Kāfirs, the inhabitants are also called Siyāhpūsh (after their black clothes); for their own part they call themselves, according to some reports, Bolors—a term that appears already in Chinese historical sources of the first century A.D.<sup>85</sup> Both in Chinese sources up to the eighteenth century and in those of the Muslims—for example in the work of Muḥammad Ḥaydar, who wrote in the middle of the sixteenth century<sup>86</sup>—the term “Bolor” and “Boloristān” are applied to the whole region from the Kābul valley northeastward to Kashmīr, Yarkand, and Kashgar.<sup>87</sup> Today the term “Bolor” seems to be seldom used even by the Bolors themselves, who, when they want to distinguish their people from the Muslims, use, according to J. Biddulph, the term “Kapira”—obviously a corruption of the Arabic *kāfir*.<sup>88</sup> The country of the Siyāhpūsh represents the most inaccessible part of the slopes of the Hindū Kush; to use Muḥammad Ḥaydar’s words, “the whole area is covered with mountains, valleys, and gorges; with some exaggeration one could say that in all of Boloristān there is no single plain, were it but one farsakh wide.” According to Dr. Robertson, who spent ten months in Kāfiristān,

the valleys there, carved out by rapid and overflowing streams, in many places represent impassable defiles. One rarely encounters a stretch of an even road that would extend for some one or two hundred fathoms; the road consists mostly of stony paths, winding along cliffs, precipices, and narrow ledges.

<sup>85</sup> The Siyāhpūsh form a part of the Kāfirs, the others are the Waiguli (Waigeli) and Presunguli (Presun, Prasun). The Kati are a part of the Siyāhpūsh. The Presun are called Wiron by the Muslims; they are clearly a very ancient group who have conserved their old religious beliefs in their greatest purity and their respect for the *pshurs* or priests, shamans. (For the Kāfirs, see now Vavilov-Bukinich, *Zemle-del’cheskii Afghanistan; Narody Perednei Azii*, pp. 133-48, 555; Masson-Romodina, I, 301-304; P. Snoy, *Die Kafiren, Formen der Wirtschaft und geistigen Kultur* (Giessen, 1962); Sch. Jones, *The Political Organization of the Kam Kafirs* (Copenhagen, 1967), and also the literature given in *idem*, *An Annotated Bibliography of Nuristan (Kafiristan) and the Kalash Kafirs of Chitral* (Copenhagen, 1966).) [C. S. Coon, *Caravan, the Story of the Middle East* (New York, 1951), pp. 65-73; Humlum, *La géographie de l’Afghanistan*, pp. 107-10; Bosworth, *EP*, art. “Kāfiristān.”]

<sup>86</sup> Muḥammad Ḥaydar, *Ta’rikh-i Rashīdī*, tr. and comm. N. Elias and E. D. Ross (London, 1895), pp. 384-86. (Cf. Barthold, “Kāfiristān v XVI v.”)

<sup>87</sup> The Dards and the country of Dardistān.

<sup>88</sup> *Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh* (Calcutta, 1880), p. 128.

Sometimes there are bridges that span the rivers, but these are at best dug-out thick tree trunks, whose edges are often studded with long staffs tipped by beautifully carved heads of animals. More often the bridges consist of one or two beams thrown over the streams, or it is simply a fallen tree that serves this purpose. For a good part of the year there is no communication between the valleys whatsoever.<sup>89</sup>

In this kind of country there can naturally be no question either of national or of political unity among its inhabitants. The language of the Siyāhpūsh, about which some data are given by Biddulph, is considered to belong to the Indian branch of Aryan languages, but dialects of the various clans differ so sharply that their speakers are sometimes totally unable to understand one another.<sup>90</sup> There were among the clans of the Siyāhpūsh in Muḥammad Ḥaydar's time as well as at the end of the nineteenth century unending fratricidal wars, in comparison with which the clashes between them and the Muslims appear insignificant. Detachments of Muslim conquerors, consisting primarily of cavalry, could not achieve a lasting success in this region; Tīmūr, Bābur, and Muḥammad Ḥaydar could carry out only plundering raids in the land of the Kāfirs. Tīmūr mounted an expedition against the Siyāhpūsh in 1398 while on his way to India, in response to complaints by the citizens of the trading city of Andarāb about the incursions of the Kāfirs. The conqueror penetrated their country from the north, through the Khawak pass, where he restored an old dismantled fortress.<sup>91</sup> After Tīmūr, as far as is known, neither armies nor travelers entered Kāfiristān from this direction. The Kāfirs, according to Sharaf al-Dīn, spoke a peculiar language that resembled neither Persian nor Turkish nor Indian, and they mostly wore no clothes at all; their elders bore the title *'adā* or *'adāshū*;<sup>92</sup> today Kāfir elders call themselves *jashtams* or *jastams*.<sup>93</sup>

<sup>89</sup> «Sir G. S. Robertson, "Kafiristan," *GJ*, IV (1894), 193-218; cf. also *idem*, *The Kafirs of the Hindu Kush* (London, 1896), and *idem*, Russ. tr., *Kafiry Gindukusha*.» [Robertson's classic work has recently been reprinted (Karachi, 1974) with a valuable introduction by L. Dupree. Marco Polo refers to the region of the Pamirs to the east of Badakhshān as Bolor; see *The Book of Ser Marco Polo* (1871 ed.), I, 163, 168-69.]

<sup>90</sup> «For the Kafir languages, see Edel'man, *Dardskie iazyki*, and the bibliography there.»

<sup>91</sup> Descent from the pass: lowering people on lines, including Tīmūr himself. Fortress, river, mountain, inscription.

<sup>92</sup> Sharaf al-Dīn Yazdī, II, 22.

<sup>93</sup> «For survivals of the patriarchal-kinship organization and the institution of

Aside from this raid from the northwest, other incursions into Kāfiristān were undertaken from the north via Badakhshān, from the south via the Kābul river valley, and from the east via Chitrāl.<sup>94</sup> Access to the region seems to have been somewhat easier from the east, and Kāfiristān had especially close economic ties with Chitrāl; some tribes were even politically dependent on the ruler of Chitrāl.<sup>94</sup> Muslim traders could enter the country only in the company of a Kāfir, but then they enjoyed security; Kāfirs returning from Chitrāl were sometimes accompanied by curious persons who wished to see the country and take advantage of the celebrated hospitality of savages. Europeans began to penetrate Kāfiristān only very recently. In 1885, Lockhart entered it with his mission via Chitrāl, as did in 1889 the above-mentioned Robertson.<sup>95</sup> Only the Afghan amīr 'Abd al-Raḥmān succeeded in conquering Kāfiristān. The first campaign took place in the winter of 1895-1896 under the command of General Ghulām Ḥaydar; the Kāfirs, still armed mostly with bows and arrows (rifles of coarse workmanship had only recently begun to be introduced there) could not stand up against Afghan artillery. The armies were followed by mullas in order to propagate Islam. Finally, 'Abd al-Raḥmān had recourse to a measure used by all conquerors: Kāfir families were forced to move to inner regions of Afghanistan, and their place was taken by Afghan mountaineers. In this manner the region, flanked on three sides by Afghan possessions and on the east bordering the valley of Chitrāl, a province subjugated by Britain, will soon become definitively incorporated into the framework of Afghanistan.<sup>96</sup>

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elders among the Kafirs, see A. Herrlich, "Beitrag zur Rassen- und Stammeskunde der Hindukusch-Kafiren," in *Deutsche im Hindukusch* (Berlin, 1937), pp. 168-246; *Narody Perednei Azii*, pp. 139-42.)

<sup>94</sup> One abortive expedition from the Kābul river valley into the region of Laghmān or Lamghān was made in the late sixteenth century by the Mughal prince of Kābul, Muḥammad Ḥakīm; see G. Scarcia, *Ṣifat-nāma-yi Darvīš Ḥān-i Gāzī. Cronaca di una crociata musulmana contro i Kafiri di Lagmān nell'anno 1582* (Rome, 1965).

<sup>95</sup> The people of Hunza (district of Kanjut) and its special language; opinion of N. Ia. Marr about the Japhetids. (For the Kanjut (Burish-Vershin) language, see I. I. Zarubin, "Vershikskoe narechie"; D.L.R. Lorimer, *The Burushaski Language* (Oslo, 1935). For attempts to connect the Kanjut language with the "Japhetic" languages, see Zarubin, "N. Ia. Marr i kandzhutskii (burishsko-vershinskii) iazyk," *Iazyk i Myshlenie*, VIII (1937), 165-70; Klimov-Edel'man, *Iazyk burushaski*.) [D. N. MacKenzie, *ET*<sup>2</sup> Suppl., "Burushaski."]

<sup>96</sup> Robertson was there for a long time [actually, thirteen months], 1890-1891. See his book *The Kafirs of the Hindu Kush*.

<sup>96</sup> After its subjugation by 'Abd al-Raḥmān, Kāfiristān was renamed Nūristān, see Niedermayer, *Afghanistan*, p. 30.

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